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061350Z Jul 05

ACTION AF-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AID-00	USNW-00	CIAE-00	INL-00	DODE-00
	DS-00	EAP-00	EUR-00	VC-00	H-00	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-00	LAB-01	VCE-00	NRC-00	NSAE-00	OES-00	OIC-00
	NIMA-00	PA-00	GIWI-00	FMPC-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	EPAE-00	SCRS-00	DSCC-00	PRM-00	DRL-00	G-00	NFAT-00
	SAS-00	SWCI-00	/001W				

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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8528
INFO SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
AMEMBASSY ABUJA
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
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C O N F I D E N T I A L HARARE 000928

SIPDIS

AF/S FOR B. NEULING
NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR C. COURVILLE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/31/2010
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [PHUM](#) [EAID](#) [SOCI](#) [ZI](#)
SUBJECT: UN ENVOY CRITICAL OF GOZ AND "RESTORE ORDER",
ANTICIPATES ENGAGEMENT

Classified By: Charge d'Affaires, a.i., Eric T. Schultz under Section 1
.4 b/d

Summary

1. (C) UN Special Envoy Anna Tibaijuka on July 4 told the CDA and visiting Congressional staff Gregory Simpkins and Pearl Alice Marsh that she found the GOZ's Restore Order campaign misguided, destructive, and wrong. She said that GOZ officials, including President Mugabe, had been unapologetic about the operation but were willing to engage with the UN in providing for displaced populations. She urged the USG to engage more with the GOZ and to remain open to potential support for a reconstruction program. End Summary.

Critical of GOZ, Restore Order

2. (C) Over dinner at the Residence, Tibaijuka recounted to the CDA and visiting Congressional staff details of her recent visits to razed residential and commercial areas in Harare and Mutare. She recognized that the GOZ was trying to stage-manage her travels; in Mutare, for example, UN staff had documented GOZ removal of truckloads of homeless families just before Tibaijuka arrived. Nonetheless, she was being afforded access wherever she asked, and had talked to many of Restore Order's homeless victims. She said there was no excuse for the GOZ's mistreatment of its people.

3. (C) Tibaijuka confirmed that the state media had been systematically misquoting her to portray her as supportive of the GOZ's campaign. She underscored that she had been direct and unambiguous in her criticism of the program during meetings with various GOZ ministers and officials, including the President himself.

4. (C) Tibaijuka reported that Mugabe ardently defended Restore Order during his meeting with her but she questioned whether he really understood the scale of suffering wrought by the campaign. His defense made her believe that some of his advisors had convinced him that the operation would alleviate many of the country's social and economic ills. In fact, she observed, the operation was bound to exacerbate a variety of national problems and resolve none.

5. (C) The Special Envoy stressed that there was no question that the GOZ policies were "wrong." The GOZ had to be made to understand that individuals had a right to live where they wanted inside their country and not be herded into the countryside to suit a government policy agenda. She said she

was especially troubled by the situation at Porta Farm and the GOZ's refusal to obey a court injunction there. (N.B. She had witnessed residential demolitions there just hours after President Mugabe had assured her that the operation was winding down.) Still, she was encouraged by the GOZ's willingness to engage and to collaborate.

16. (C) Tibaijuka explained that Zimbabwe's antiquated legal infrastructure, which had been written by a colonial administration intent on controlling indigenous populations, was a substantial problem. For example, local construction standards had been artificially inflated to exceed European standards just to assure that no blacks could move into certain areas. The GOZ was now using these nonsensical codes as a pretext to demolish structures and relocate masses of humanity. GOZ reliance on such relics reflected both cynical political opportunism and ignorance. She and her UN colleagues were working to educate GOZ policy-makers on modern concepts of urbanization and to change attitudes.

Appeal for USG Engagement, Support

17. (C) Looking to the future, Tibaijuka stressed the

importance of international engagement in remedying the situation. During her meetings, the GOZ had been receptive to international assistance in responding to the humanitarian crisis wrought by Restore Order. She observed that the USG had a potentially key role to play and suggested that we reach out more to the GOZ in order to bolster our potential influence. She also urged that we support international reconstruction efforts to provide for Restore Order's victims with provisions and new shelter. Nobody had wanted the country to go down this path but now we all had to collaborate on leading Zimbabweans out of it. Echoing her appeal at an earlier diplomatic briefing, she said "you can write off a government, but you can't write off a people."

Report Coming, Political Statements Unlikely

18. (C) In closing, Tibaijuka emphasized that as a special envoy, she would be submitting a report to the UN SYG but was unlikely to be making any significant public statements on the situation here. Her UN agency, Habitat, was a "normative organ" that would permit her more latitude to make public comments but advice was likely to be more technical than political.

Comment

19. (C) Tibaijuka appeared deeply and genuinely concerned about the plight of Zimbabwe's trampled IDPs and sincerely dismayed over the GOZ's callousness and unrepentant attitude. However, her visit was not successful in convincing the GOZ to end its operation as it remains to be seen what the UN will do following her report. GOZ recalcitrance represents a slap in the international community's face, especially the UN. However, it should be noted that the AU's envoy, Tom Bahare Nyanduga, has not left his hotel since his arriving on June 30 and the GOZ appears unlikely to let him proceed with his mission - a slap in Africa's face as well that the continent appears all too willing to accept.

10. (C) We would also note that GOZ receptivity to international assistance to clean up the mess it has made - essentially rewarding it for its inhumane war against its own people and thereby encouraging it to create more victims - poses a fundamental moral hazard for donors. That said, the alternative - denying aid to the victims to punish the government that victimized them) is maybe even less palatable.
SCHULTZ

NNNN